

Memorandum to the Advisory  
Commission of the National  
Defense ...



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MEMORANDUM  
to the  
ADVISORY COMMISSION  
of the  
COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE  
concerning a  
WAR POLICY FOR ALIENS

## Second Memorandum

Transmitted, October 31st, 1917

by the

Committee for Immigrants in America  
National Americanization Committee.

29 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City



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## REASONS FOR MEMORANDUM

The essential facts leading to the presentation of this Memorandum on a War Policy for Aliens are:

The presence of 13,000,000 foreign born people in America, 3,000,000 of whom do not speak the English language and whom America has permitted to live apart from its national institutions and life in colonies and camps and quarters isolated from American contacts.

The go-where-you-will-do-as-you-please policy pursued by America for the past fifty years toward its arriving immigrants, resulting in ignorance of where they are, of what they are doing, and of their attitude toward America.

The existence of industrial injustices and unfavorable living conditions which decrease man-power and enable pacifists, agitators and other anti-American groups to foment unrest, dissatisfaction and disloyalty.

The knowledge of the activities of agents of the German Government retarding production, damaging property, endangering life and otherwise impeding America's effective participation in the war.

The certainty that the I. W. W. are making active propaganda and headway among aliens friendly to America.

The prevalence of industrial unrest, sabotage, strikes, riots and other labor disturbances, not only in war industries, but throughout the country.

The increase in accidents and fires, explosions and other damage to property in industries vital to the production of war materials. In grain elevators alone it is reported that since the declaration of war fires have increased 300 per cent.

The delays in executing war contracts due to control of industries by aliens, and anti-American influences in industries holding war contracts.

The influence of some of the foreign language press among people who do not speak or read the English language.

The absence of adequate government agencies to anticipate the inevitable results of these conditions and of coordinated government organization to deal effectively with these many complex influences and activities. Exhibit A.—Statements in the New York Times of July 15 and July 29.



## PROCLAMATION ON ALIENS

### SIGNIFICANT PROVISIONS

**P**RESIDENT Wilson's Proclamation on Alien Enemies on April 6, declared all males of 14 years of age and upward, who were natives, citizens, denizens or subjects of Germany, within the United States and not actually naturalized, to be alien enemies. Women were not included. The Proclamation also contained, among other things, the following significant provisions: (For complete text of proclamation, see *Memorandum I, Exhibit XL.*, pages 6-7.)

An alien enemy shall not approach or be found within one-half mile of any Federal or State fort, camp, arsenal, aircraft station, Government or naval vessel, navy yard, factory, or workshop for the manufacture of munitions of war or of any products for the use of the army or navy;

An alien enemy shall not commit or abet any hostile acts against the United States or give information or comfort to its enemies;

An alien enemy shall not reside in or continue to reside in, to remain in, or enter any locality which the President may from time to time designate by an Executive order as a prohibitive area, in which residence by an alien enemy shall be found by him to constitute a danger to the public peace and safety of the United States, except by permit from the President and except under such limitations or restrictions as the President may prescribe.

### ENFORCEMENT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL

The enforcement of these regulations was delegated to the Attorney-General, who issued instructions therefor on April 10. The most far-reaching was with respect to Regulation No. 4. This established zones, from which alien enemies were barred unless they first obtained a permit. (For text of order enforcing regulations, see *Memorandum I, Exhibit XL.*, pages 7-8.)

The organization at the command of the Attorney-General for this purpose, consisted of a Bureau of Investigation, United States Attorneys and United States Marshals, and to these Marshals was given the chief responsibility for enforcing the regulations. The Marshals are Federal peace officers who execute processes and perform for the United States functions similar to those of sheriffs. They had been appointed to this office with these duties in mind. Without preparation they were called upon to pass upon legal questions with which many of America's ablest lawyers would have struggled and with industrial situations which would have perplexed some of the country's greatest industrial leaders.

Definite action by the Government in the matter of restriction zones was scheduled for June first—about two months later than the date of the Proclamation. This was postponed until July, and in New York, in an attempt to bar all alien enemies from the water front, the Marshal announced that it would apply to all ferryboats, excursion steamers, small craft and other water carriers.



In the absence of co-ordinated Federal action and resulting delays, the states attempted to pass legislation or otherwise tried to deal with the situation, resulting in confusion and decentralization. Illustrative of this were New York's laws of 1917, providing: for the registration of aliens, Chapter 159; for a military census, Chapter 103; enlarging the duties and powers of the State Attorney-General and providing him with a secret service, Chapter 595; and suspension of the liquor traffic about military camps and industries, Chapter 521.

EFFECT  
UPON  
STATES

The federalizing of the National Guard, and resulting apprehension for internal safety led to the appointment of many miscellaneous officials—Home Defense guards, new deputy marshals, and hundreds of deputy sheriffs, special officers, and police officers—all with an eye on the alien, but with little previous information concerning the laws governing the situation or the action to be taken.

Aliens were instantly and vitally affected by this Proclamation. Without regard to their records of loyalty or disloyalty they faced the loss of their homes and positions. Patronage was withdrawn, friendships disrupted and racial antagonism appeared. Members of their families not included within its terms and their naturalized friends and relatives faced problems of changed relationships, of occupations, and of property. Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Turks and other aliens belonging to the Central Powers although not included within the terms of the Proclamation, soon came to be regarded as alien enemies for "all practical purposes."

EFFECT  
UPON  
ALIENS

The first great crisis in America revealed the weakness of the policy which has been pursued by the Federal government toward aliens for the last fifty years. The enter-and-do-as-you-please-go-where-you-will policy immediately bore fruit. The many injustices and exploitations which America has long permitted to be practised upon newly arrived aliens, resulting in bitterness toward America and the desire for revenge, had found its opportunity for expression. The many difficulties thrown in the way of citizenship and the isolation of the alien as a cog in the industrial system now effectually barred understanding and co-operation. No leader or system could possibly cover at one jump the breach made by this attitude and these practices of many years. As America had sowed so it was bound to reap.

RESULT OF  
FEDERAL  
POLICY OF  
NEGLECT

There was no record of the nativity, characteristics, location or occupation of aliens. The Federal census was seven years old. It was unknown where alien enemies were living or working and the impossibility of enforcing orders territorially could not be foreseen. The importance of aliens to war contracts and factories in which supplies for the army and navy were being made was unknown or we would have realized that the enforcement of these regulations meant the disruption, if not annihilation, of many businesses. There was no machinery by which alien enemies could be transferred from industries to non-war industries when refused permits, and the shifting was



done at enormous cost to business, to labor, and to loyalty. The proportion of alien enemies in city districts was not known in order to gauge intelligently the machinery necessary to enforce these regulations. Without the means of or authority for the registration, identification and following up of alien enemies such regulations were impossible of enforcement.

In New York City alone, the most vital port in America, in July, 1917, it was estimated that there were 100,000 alien enemies employed in the proscribed areas and in shipping and export offices, banks and other great centers of information, free to go anywhere in the city, free to send cable messages to the neutral countries of Europe subject only to a nominal censorship, free to send uncensored letters to Mexico or neutral countries in Europe and free to use German women not included in the alien enemy proclamation whenever there was any need to do so. The many arrests of alien enemies in September and October for taking advantage of this situation proves beyond question that the danger did exist and was only limited by the Allies' interference with Germany's ability to make it effective.

The result was inevitable. The fears of the alien enemy and the apprehensions of the friendly alien gradually gave place to contempt and license and there followed a trail of activity, which has stirred the country to action.

### THE DRAFT LAW

#### EFFECT ON ALIENS

The situation created by the Proclamation on Aliens was complicated by the President's Proclamation on May 18 setting aside June 5 as registration day and following this on May 26 with a Proclamation on the Evasion of Registration. On June 20 the President issued a call for volunteers designating the period of June 23 to 30 as recruiting week for the regular army. In the absence of any announcement to the contrary, aliens were included in the registration and were eligible as volunteers. These men were also subject to military duty in their own countries, in some of which imprisonment and confiscation of property is the penalty for failure to answer the country's call, should they later come within its jurisdiction.

Between the zone regulations and the draft, the alien was indeed in a dilemma. Men who were not busy finding new jobs, new homes and new friends and seeking information concerning what "aid and comfort to the enemy" meant, were asking such questions as: Were first paper men subject to the draft; could alien enemies who had taken out their first papers before April 6 complete their naturalization; were aliens to fight in American ranks or those of their own country; and was provision to be made for dependent families of enlisted aliens?

#### EFFECT ON AMERICANS

The inclusion of aliens in the draft has not only caused difficulties for the aliens but has resulted in trouble for exemption boards and serious discriminations among Americans because the quota assigned was based upon the ratio of the total registration to the total population of the United States,



and proportionately by States and districts, although aliens without first papers were later exempted from the draft. *Exhibit B is a Table from the New York Times Annalist of September 3 showing errors.* Very serious apprehension was also felt by industries on the ground that a withdrawal of a disproportionate number of Americans from industrial plants would disturb the American control of such industries and put aliens in positions of authority and strategy that might eventually prove disastrous.

### ALIEN ENEMY ACTIVITIES

Had Germany made the situation to order, it could hardly have served her purpose better. It was not America that was ready and able to retain the loyalty of loyal alien enemies and to render futile the activities of disloyal pacifists, agitators, and alien enemies. It was the pro-German who knew how to reach the wavering alien and helped the man thrown out of a job or evicted from a boarding house or from his home, thereby promoting anti-American feeling.

GERMANY'S  
EFFICIENCY

Wherever were gathered together a group of workmen badly housed and fed, overworked and underpaid in a vital war industry, there was the opportunity for the agitator and propagandist—whether they were enemy or non-enemy aliens. The talk was not of Germany but of higher pay, shorter hours and better conditions. In places where production was vital to America's effective participation in the war, accidents and fires and explosions were frequent. Vulnerable parts of plants were neglected, and aliens were in a position to do damage. Where speed was required, men shifted from job to job and the labor turnover was appalling. As an illustration, in one industry in New York State holding most important war contracts 250 men were employed each week to keep the average force of 2,400 at work. This means that this industry would employ at the rate of 13,000 men per annum to keep its normal force of 2,400.

There is no evidence available showing what action the Federal Government adopted to prevent aliens from becoming the victims of anti-American influences or provide information that would help aliens and their families in the difficulties arising from the Proclamation on Aliens. It was not the patriotic societies of distinguished Americans that came to the rescue and mitigated untold hardship and suffering and held out a helpful hand—it was the so-called hyphenated societies that filled the breach. It was a repetition of the old story of the past fifty years and the pacifist, the socialist and the I. W. W. were bound to be the beneficiaries.

The revelation of the trail of the I. W. W. through the Northwest and West and the evidence now in possession of the Government show how thoroughly organized and effective this system is and the I. W. W. is but one of many of the agencies created or used against America. The proposal to use this government as a base for wrecking the Canadian Pacific Railway, to pay and use agents for sabotage in industries, and a vigorous cam-

AMERICA'S  
FAILURE



paigned to secure a majority in both houses of Congress favorable to Germany are but variations of this comprehensive program. *Exhibit C is a reprint of the chronological statement of German activities prepared by the Providence Journal.*

## SUMMARY

Of the tasks facing America, the alien question is one of the most delicate, the most complicated, the most far-reaching and at the close of the war will carry over some of the most important matters for adjustment. *Exhibit D is a copy of a letter from Mr. Frank Trumbull to Col. E. M. House.*

Many of the mistakes and delays could have been avoided, but for the mistaken policy of the past and the absence of the necessary information. During the entire period of the organization of the military and industrial resources of the country, there has not been any one authoritative Federal source of action or of information on alien matters. The problem was exposed at this point or that or dealt with here or there as it became a menace. It is nowhere focused so it can be dealt with effectively by war measures and with due regard to the future. The friendly alien has been left to drift and the alien enemy has been left to act. For information upon which to base decisions regarding enlistments, exemptions, naturalization, dispensation to live or work or facilities for learning English, he has had to go for each answer to a different place and in many instances no one was ready with the information when he got there. (*See Memorandum I, Exhibit XXVII.*)

The alien problem is Federal. It cannot be handled by states and municipalities. To dismember the alien and apportion him to states and cities is to defeat a national policy at the outset. The handling of the alien in war may at any time involve treaty agreements, the trail of the I. W. W. across the country, the employment agency which does an inter-state business, the transfer of men from industry to industry in various states or the publication of a newspaper using the United States mails. In war, the *Federal status of the alien* governs his location, his work, his freedom, his activities, and his opportunities and it is as an alien that we must deal with him, assigning to states and cities such measures of co-operation as they can achieve under the direction of the Federal government.

America, with some exceptions hereinafter noted, has proceeded upon the theory of prosecution and remedy after damage has been done. Its further policy to accord with that of other countries, notably Canada, must proceed upon the theory of prevention and constructive action, if it is to contribute its full measure to winning this war.



## WAR POLICY

The preceding analysis of the alien situation can lead to but one conclusion—the demand for a clear, definite national war policy for aliens, which will co-ordinate existing work and provide for new situations and problems as they arise. The essentials of such a war policy are:

The prevention of anti-American propaganda, activities and schemes by the surveillance of all aliens. This will relate the alien properly to war conditions, and will assure the *safety of America within its own borders*. SAFETY

The elimination of incentives to unrest, disorder and disloyalty and the removal of conditions which reduce man-power, limit production and render men and women susceptible to anti-American influences. This will assure *America's effectiveness in this war*. EFFICIENCY

The mobilization of alien enemies in internment camps, on probation, or in non-war industries and of friendly aliens in war industries and in the military lines of America or of their own country, according to the best advantage of the country. This will assure military efficiency and the *stability of industry and of communities upon an American basis*. MOBILIZATION

The provision of opportunities for all aliens who loyally desire to become Americanized as to language, citizenship and co-operation. This is *Americanization*. AMERICANIZATION

The object, therefore, of this policy is to safeguard the country, assure America's efficiency, make certain American control of communities and industries, and Americanize aliens so America will stand forth a united and effective nation.

The tasks that lie immediately ahead in the achievement of this policy are the safeguarding of life and the prevention of needless waste; the protection of property and the facilitation of output; and the preservation of American traditions, ideals, standards and standing of American citizens from the attacks of alien enemies and the extension of opportunities by which friendly aliens may participate in their national realization.

The practical measures necessary to accomplish this task include legislation, regulations, education and administrative machinery for carrying them out.

The Federal government alone can initiate them and carry them to successful conclusion, asking of states, municipalities and of its citizens and their civilian organizations such cooperation and service as they can best render and at such times and places as the government may direct.



## LEGISLATION

The lack of vision and absence of any definite policy in dealing with incoming aliens is exemplified in the legislation which governs the subject. The following brief analysis of the laws and of proposed legislation introduced at the First Session of the Sixty-Fifth Congress shows the extent to which the United States has accepted its responsibility in law for dealing with aliens and how it was preparing to deal with it in the future.

### PRECEDING THE WAR

#### PROTECTION OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS

**Treaties:** The United States has treaties with nine nations protecting the citizenship of aliens who become American citizens and no treaties with eleven other nations that furnish a considerable number of immigrants. American citizenship does not protect the naturalized alien of military age when he returns to his home country with any degree of safety. *Exhibit E is an abstract of the treaty provisions with the various countries.*

#### STATE AND MUNICIPAL LAWS

It has been the practice of various states and municipalities to pass laws which contravene these treaty guarantees and the alien receives different treatment in different communities. *Exhibit F is a statement of some of these laws.*

#### REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION

**Immigration Law:** The regulation of immigration is authorized by the Immigration Law which, in general, provides: For the *admission* of aliens, on the grounds of general desirability as a resident and a future citizen of the United States and as not falling within the enumerated excludable classes; the *exclusion* of aliens, on the grounds of idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, insanity, pauperism, likelihood of becoming a public charge, affliction with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, criminality involving moral turpitude, polygamy, anarchism, prostitution, emigration for contract labor purposes, age under 16 years (with certain exceptions), illiteracy or descent from Chinese race; and the *deportation* of aliens, on the grounds of illegal entry, stowaway, not being excluded on arrival although coming within such classes, later criminal convictions, insanity, prostitution, or becoming a public charge from prior causes.

#### DIVISION OF INFORMATION

There is one provision of the Immigration Law (Section 40) which has been made to serve a broad purpose:

“to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States among the several states and territories desiring immigration . . . (and to) gather from all available sources useful information regarding the resources, products and physical characteristics of each state and territory and . . . publish such information in different languages and distribute the publications among all admitted aliens who may ask for such information at the immigrant stations of the United States and to such other persons as may desire the same.”



Under this provision, the Bureau established 18 distribution zones covering the country on September 1, 1914, for the purpose of facilitating the distribution of farm labor in the United States, to meet the serious unemployment conditions that year. No additional appropriation or authorization was given for this work, but gradually and under the general authority of promoting the welfare of wage-earners, a national employment service has been organized with 93 offices, immigrant inspectors have been detailed to this work, and government employees have been assigned to state and municipal employment bureaus for co-operative purposes. It no longer limits its activities to aliens.

An attempt was made to remedy this situation in 1914 and every year thereafter. H. R. 16130, introduced on April 29, 1914, was the first bill in Congress to provide for the creation of a Federal Bureau of Employment with power to establish a system of free public employment exchanges, to co-operate with state and municipal bureaus and to license and regulate private employment agencies engaged in inter-state employment business. Since then bills to establish free employment exchanges have been regularly introduced and hearings have been held—but the establishment of a National Employment Bureau has not yet been authorized.

Upon the urgent request of the Secretary of Labor, early in the War Session of Congress, for an appropriation of \$750,000 for the organization of a National Employment Service which would not be an adjunct of the Bureau of Immigration, Congress included \$250,000 in the Urgent Deficiency Bill as a special war appropriation, not for the creation of a new Bureau vested with full authority, but to enlarge the *existing* facilities.

**Naturalization Law:** The Naturalization Law, which took this power from the states in 1906, provides that "all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens" shall be in charge of a Bureau of Naturalization, grants jurisdiction to certain Federal and State courts, specifies how an alien may be admitted to citizenship and what his qualifications must be, details the records to be kept and the fees to be paid, and provides penalties for violations.

NATURALIZATION

In the passage of the law certain state powers were left which prevent this law from being truly national in its scope, such as the privilege of voting at general elections still granted by several states to aliens upon the filing of a declaration of intention, and the power to limit the naturalization rights of inferior courts of record. Again, the law requires statutory periods of residence in state and county districts before naturalization papers will be issued.

STATE  
LIMITATIONS

No authority is granted under these limited provisions of the law to undertake the education of aliens or the preparation of standards in the method and content of civic instruction for the use of the public schools. In 1915,

EXTRA-LEGAL  
ACTIVITIES



EDUCATION  
OF ALIENS

without an expert staff of educators qualified to prepare the material, a course of citizenship instruction was prepared and distributed among public schools, day and evening, as the "standard" for the nation. These extra-legal activities became so burdensome and the need of additional assistants and authority so great, that an attempt was made without success in 1916 and again in 1917 to remedy this situation through legislation. *See Page 18 for a summary of proposed bills.*

**Education Law:** Defects of the education law have been met in a different manner when work with aliens became necessary. Under its general provisions, the Bureau of Education is authorized to serve as a clearing house for all forms of education and to appoint special collaborators at a nominal salary of \$1 a year, whose services are usually donated by interested philanthropic organizations, to make special studies or conduct particular phases of research work.

Under these general provisions a separate Division of Immigrant Education was organized in 1914, each member of the staff receiving but \$1 a year. Under a provision of an Appropriation Act of 1917 the appointment of special collaborators will be prohibited after June 30, 1919. Efforts to secure legislation for an appropriation and authorization to continue this work through government appropriation have failed. *See Page 19 for a summary of proposed bills.*

It is noteworthy that in the immigration law there is little indication that the United States needs to deal with the protection, distribution, or assimilation of aliens or that its nationality needs protection. In the naturalization law there has been an attempt made to set a standard for citizenship, but no provisions for assisting the alien to reach it have been made. The attitude has been, in general, that any attempt to improve the conditions of aliens in America and to Americanize them would tend to increase immigration, and the national policy was consequently a negative one.

**Penal Code:** In addition to these specific laws dealing with the alien, the Federal Penal Code contains a number of provisions which deal with citizens and aliens alike, such as inciting rebellion and insurrection, seditious conspiracy, recruiting for service against the United States, arming vessels, conspiracy, injuries to fortifications, false personation in securing naturalization papers, using false certificate of citizenship or falsely claiming citizenship, etc. (*See Memorandum I, Exhibit XL, page 14.*)

WAR LEGISLATION

There are 33,000,000 people of foreign-born parentage or of foreign birth in the United States and 13,000,000 of them are foreign-born. Of the 33,000,000 about one-third belong to the Central Powers. The following laws which have just been passed by Congress, deal with the general war situation and apply to aliens.



*H. R. 4960*—Public No. 91—Defines “enemy” and “ally of enemy,” prohibits imports and exports except under licenses, regulates international transfers of credits and currency, imposes penalties for trading with the enemy without a license, provides for the licensing of enemies doing business in the United States and for the use of enemy-held patents and the taking over and administering of enemy property, licenses and regulates the foreign-language press, creates a War Trade Board, a War Trade Council, an Alien Property Custodian and a Censorship Board and prohibits taking or sending communications with the enemy and the transportation of enemies into or from the United States.

*H. R. 3545*—Public No. 12—authorizes the President to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States and to raise additional forces by draft. All male citizens, or male persons not alien enemies who have declared their intention to become citizens, between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years, both inclusive, are liable to military service.

*H. R. 2893*—Public No. 10—permits the enlistment of citizens of allies in the United States.

*H. R. 2337*—Public No. 15—provides that friendly alien declarants may enroll in the Naval Reserve Force and after honorable service for at least one year, may become citizens without proof of residence on shore.

*H. R. 291*—Public No. 24—the Espionage Act, authorizes the President to declare prohibited places, and provides for the filing of applications for passports, the capture of escaped interned aliens, and the refusal to transmit non-mailable matter.

#### WAR BILLS

Limited as have been the legislative attempts to deal with the alien, had all the proposed legislation been passed the situation would have been a tragedy. Bills have been proposed and urged for passage dealing with various phases of the subject, without any particular relation to each other, and which would have resulted in even greater confusion. Among the many proposed bills the following illustrate the method of dealing with the subject.

As to treaties, the following were proposed:

#### TREATIES

*H. R. 106*, instructs the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization to interview the Secretary of State with a view to opening negotiations with the Italian Mission relative to naturalization, and is illustrative of existing diplomatic conditions. *Exhibit G is a copy of this Resolution.*

*H. R. 1671*, amending an Expatriation Act of 1907, proposes to grant citizenship to children born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States whose fathers are citizens thereof.

*H. J. Res. 81*, urges that the United States shall insist as a part of the treaty of peace, that Bohemia be given its freedom and independence. (*Note: Government backing is intended for a resolution passed by the Bohemian National Alliance, representing 540,000 Americans of Bohemian birth. Attempted legislation of this nature encourages other racial groups to organize and continue similar propaganda, promotes racial and group consciousness and retards Americanization.*)

*H. J. Res. 33*, proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that “no state shall, without the consent of Congress, make or enforce any law



which shall discriminate amongst aliens in respect to the holding of property or the enjoyment of any civil privilege or immunity."

*H. R. 3374*, punishes conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any alien in the exercise of any right under any treaty of the United States.

DRAFT AND  
ENLISTMENTS

As to the draft and enlistments, the following were proposed:

*S. J. Res. 84*, which passed the Senate, authorizes the drafting of aliens, except alien enemies and aliens who cannot become citizens, into the military service of the United States: (a) It includes aliens who have resided in the United States for more than one year and have not declared their intention to become citizens, but exempts subjects of countries other than those allied with the enemy, if so exempted under treaty agreements which are not waived. Such persons shall then be allowed to leave the United States within ninety days. Subjects of countries allied with the enemy may be utilized for necessary, other than military, purposes. (b) A declarant, except an alien enemy, may be enlisted and commissioned as an officer in any military or naval force. (c) A citizen who enlisted in an allied country retains his citizenship. (d) A declarant serving in the military or naval forces at the termination of the war or previously honorably discharged therefrom can become a citizen without being required to prove five years' continuous residence in the United States and one year in the state.

*H. J. Res. 115*, which was reported out of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, requests the Secretary of State to open diplomatic negotiations with the allied governments with a view to obtaining their approval and sanction for action permitting the inclusion in the armed forces of the United States of their citizens who are now within the United States.

*H. R. 5137*, refuses admission to the United States of any alien who is subject to military duty in any country associated with the United States in any war and neglects, refuses or fails to perform such service.

*H. R. 5249*, provides that all male citizens or male persons who are subjects of a country engaged in war with the Central Powers may be drafted into the military service of their respective countries.

*H. R. 5639*, provides for the deportation of an alien who is a subject of an allied country, who is subject to military duty in his native country and who has not filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States. An alien enemy between 18 and 44 years of age and any other alien is subject to draft to perform mental or physical labor on farms, manufacturing establishments, etc.

*H. R. 5667*, which was reported out of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, provides that such aliens who but for their alienage would be subject to the selective draft and who have claimed, or shall hereafter claim exemption as aliens and do not withdraw the claim for exemption, shall be denied the right to become citizens of the United States and shall as soon as practicable be deported to the country of which they are citizens or subjects. Power is also given to draft any alien "to perform such mental or physical labor on the farm, in the manufacturing establishments, or other enterprises."

*H. R. 5669*, subjects to military draft all resident aliens, exclusive of alien subjects or citizens of allied countries, exclusive of alien enemies, and exclusive of resident aliens who are not by law permitted to become citizens of the United States. Alien subjects of allied countries thus exempted must return to the countries of which they are subjects or be deported "as soon as practicable."



Treaties exempting the subjects of any country from military service within the United States shall be effective, but the United States shall propose modifications thereof, or agreements removing such exemptions. Aliens of classes other than those described "shall be required only to render military service for police purposes, or for local protection, or for protecting the United States against invasion, or such other service."

*H. R. 5457*, compels "every alien in the United States except those connected with a foreign government" to enlist in the United States army, enlist in the army of his own country, make application for citizenship, or be deported or otherwise disposed of.

*H. R. 5903*, proposes to extend the provisions of the Selective Draft Act to all male subjects or citizens of nations other than the Central Powers who are to be enrolled in units by nationality and by country, and to be officered by officers of their respective nationalities, subject to the consent of the native countries affected, the force so drafted to be known as the "American Foreign Legion."

*H. R. 5253*, includes in the draft all aliens who have resided in this country for two years or more.

*H. R. 5694*, provides that quotas for the draft shall be determined by the ratio which eligible registrants in each district bear to the total eligible registrants in the United States.

*H. R. 5902*, provides for the registration and drafting into the military service of aliens whose countries shall waive treaty exemptions and for the deportation of those who thereafter still continue to claim exemption, and provides also for the drafting of *all* male declarants.

*H. R. 3806*, grants full rights of citizenship to alien subjects of countries not at war with the United States who have filed first papers and have enlisted in the armed forces of the United States.

MILITARY SERVICE  
AND  
CITIZENSHIP

*H. R. 4539*, provides that any alien who holds an honorable discharge from the United States Army, or any alien who desires to enlist in the armed forces of the United States may file his declaration without the required one year's residence in the jurisdiction of the court and may have his petition heard immediately.

*H. R. 5264*, extends the right of citizenship to all aliens who have joined the military forces and who have taken the oath required to be taken under the naturalization law.

*H. R. 5639*, provides for the granting of citizenship to any alien who enlists in the military forces of the United States and serves therein until he is honorably discharged. The mere presentation of such papers of discharge is sufficient proof that such alien has become a citizen.

*H. R. 5692*, makes it permissible for enlisted aliens who are entitled to make formal application for citizenship to apply and submit proofs to the commanding officer of the forces in which they are serving who is to forward same to the court having jurisdiction where a certificate of naturalization is to be issued.

*S. 1*, provides for the military and naval training and service of citizens of the United States, and includes also every male person who makes a declaration of intention to become a citizen. Such a person cannot become naturalized unless he has a certificate of training or has been exempted.

*H. R. 4802*, restores citizenship to citizens who entered the military or naval service of an ally country.



REGISTRATION

As to registration, the following were proposed:

*H. R. 2764*, provides for the registration of alien enemies who are subjects of a nation with which this country is at war or with which war is threatened, or allies of any such nation. The Secretary of Labor is authorized to divide the country into districts and such aliens must register with a local postmaster and receive a certificate of identification. Failure to register constitutes a misdemeanor. Hotel and boarding house keepers must report the presence of such aliens. The President may require such registered aliens to report at such time and place as may be fixed by regulation. The Secretary of Labor is charged with the enforcement of this law, although the Postmaster-General is to make rules and regulations for postmasters in the performance of their duties in connection therewith.

*H. R. 4959*, compels the registration of alien males between 21 and 30 years of age who are citizens or subjects of allied countries and who have not yet registered under the Conscription Act nor enlisted in the army of their own country, under penalty of deportation.

NATURALIZATION

As to naturalization, the following were proposed:

*S. 1078* provides an appropriation to the Bureau of Naturalization in the Department of Labor for promoting instruction and training in citizenship of applicants for naturalization, and for the cost of publishing the citizenship textbook prepared and to be distributed by the Bureau of Naturalization to candidates for citizenship.

*S. 2854*, which was reported out of the Senate Committee on Immigration, amends the naturalization laws by (a) permitting filing of the petition within three months instead of two years after making the declaration of intention, (b) granting citizenship to enlisted or honorably discharged aliens upon petition without filing a declaration and requiring only three years residence in the United States and appearance with two credible witnesses, (c) granting citizenship to alien seamen who have served on United States vessels three years and who have made a declaration of intention, (d) appropriating \$30,000 for citizenship training work and \$200,000 for the administration of above provisions, (e) continuing citizenship to those who have enlisted in allied countries, (f) requiring children of naturalized parents to take the oath of allegiance to the United States upon reaching their majority but before the age of 22, and (g) permitting alien enemies who filed a declaration prior to April 6th to complete their naturalization.

*H. R. 322*, provides that "any alien, being of the age of twenty-one years, who has resided continuously in the United States for over five years next preceding his arrival at that age, may make application to be admitted a citizen thereof without waiting the two years after declaring his intention to become a citizen of the United States," declaring instead on oath and proving to the satisfaction of the Court that for the five years preceding it has been his bona fide intention to become a citizen of the United States.

*H. R. 3811*, provides that "any alien entering the territorial limits and jurisdiction of the United States under the age of 12 years, has resided continuously therein and thereunder until he has reached his majority" may, upon application, become an American citizen without further preliminary declaration of intention.

*S. 1999*, provides that residence within a state but outside the county of which the petitioner is a resident, may be proved by the depositions of two or more citizens resident in such counties.

*H. R. 4049*, provides that "any American woman who marries a foreigner shall retain her American citizenship unless she shall formally in writing re-



nounce such citizenship," whether residing in the United States or abroad. An American woman now married to a foreigner residing in the United States can also resume her American citizenship by filing a declaration.

*S. 79*, provides that no distinction shall be made by any court in matters of naturalization of aliens, whether in declaration of intention or final application or proof or otherwise because of the sex of such alien.

*H. R. 3337*, provides that any alien over 21, a citizen of Germany or Austria-Hungary, who has lived in the United States for five years or more and who will declare on oath that he will support the Constitution of the United States and abjure allegiance to his native country may be admitted as an American citizen.

*H. J. Res. 42*, provides that aliens of German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Bulgarian birth whose application for final papers had been approved before April 6, 1917, be admitted to citizenship.

*H. R. 3132*, which was reported out of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, provides that alien enemies resident within the United States on the 6th day of April may be admitted to citizenship.

*S. 1485*, provides that "no alien, although otherwise qualified under the laws of the United States to become a citizen thereof, but who, before seeking admission to such citizenship, has applied for or obtained the consent of the authorities of the foreign state or sovereignty of which such alien is at the time a citizen or subject to retain his citizenship under such State or has in any form or manner reserved any right to retain such citizenship while a citizen of the United States, shall be admitted to become a citizen of the United States. In his declaration of intention he shall declare under oath that he has not applied for such rights or reserved them."

*H. R. 5317*, provides for the display of the United States flag in all United States courts; and that during the examination and instruction of foreign-born applicants for naturalization, the flag shall be displayed and that it shall be the duty of the court, or officer of naturalization, to direct the attention of the applicants to the flag, to instruct them as to its significance and their duty patriotically to protect and defend it.

As to education, the following were proposed:

#### EDUCATION

*S. 621*, provides for the promotion of Americanization of immigrants through education, a common language, common ideals and a common understanding of American citizenship and appropriates \$50,000 therefor to the Bureau of Education.

*H. R. 1999*, creates a commission on illiteracy to investigate conditions and causes of illiteracy, to ascertain methods of instructing native and foreign-born illiterate adults to cooperate with state and local educational authorities in the elimination of illiteracy and appropriates \$100,000 therefor.

*H. R. 4043*, provides for the establishment of a Division of Civic Training in the Bureau of Education, to increase the efficiency of American citizenship by giving information and personal assistance for the introduction and use of American democracy in schools, institutions and associations.

As to labor, the following were proposed:

#### LABOR

*H. R. 153*, provides for the establishment of a National Employment Bureau in the Department of Labor.



*H. R. 4042*, prohibits the employment of any person who is not a citizen as radio operator or telegrapher on any vessel of the United States engaged in interstate or foreign commerce.

*H. R. 6026*, prevents the employment of any alien in any department of the government of the United States in any capacity whatsoever, menial or otherwise, or the employment of naturalized citizens one year after they have received their final citizenship papers.

There can be no better argument for a national policy for aliens than a perusal of these bills affords. They are in the main attempts to remedy the bad spots as the day's progress revealed them and do not provide any constructive plan for what may happen tomorrow, or lay a foundation for handling the whole question during peace negotiations.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WAR LEGISLATION

**Semi-annual registration of all inhabitants of America, upon specified dates, by real estate owners, and checked by postmasters, national banks, and other federal agencies.**

#### REGISTRATION

**Note:** The prevention of riots, strikes, unrest, and industrial delays and damage, so far as they are due to aliens and the influence of German propaganda and activities, is possible only in the degree to which all aliens are kept under surveillance. Just in proportion as we know where they are and what they are doing, with whom they are associating and what influences are at work among them, can we hope to change their anti-American attitude and frustrate their action. We know that anti-American activities are not confined to alien enemies and that alien subjects of the Allies have been used both willingly and unwittingly. Even some of our own citizens are giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." Because of the absence of any records and means of identification of aliens, or possibility of verifying their statements about themselves as to arrival, activities, nationality, etc., an alien registration will be useless.

It is therefore recommended for serious consideration that a registration of all inhabitants be required twice each year and that such registration shall provide the necessary data for nationality, citizenship, etc., and a penalty be provided for changing names without so registering the fact. This registration should be made by the real estate owners of the country, on certain specified days, of all persons living on their property, this information to be forwarded to Washington, where provision should be made for its classification and use. Penalties should be provided for refusal of persons to fill out the forms or give the required information which real estate owners should be authorized to collect from residents and penalties should be provided for the real estate owner who fails to file full and complete information or for the communication of



such information to any person not authorized to receive it. Penalties also should be provided for false or misleading information given by the person so registered and the provisions of the law should be posted in advance by each real estate owner in English and whatever other languages may be necessary. Such a registration can be made of the greatest possible service to the government if properly organized and intelligently used. If one large mail order house in America can classify and handle at an instant's notice 10,000,000 customers, the Federal Government with its 58,000 post offices can surely handle 100,000,000.

The census taken every ten years is a useless expenditure of money for any practical purpose, as its data is usually from one to five years old when it is available. America is now on a war basis. It needs to know where its people are and what they are doing, and a registration at least twice a year by all real estate owners is a feasible substitute for the antiquated statistical method now used. Many states and cities now have numerous censuses and obsolete license lists which are not kept up to date or used intelligently and a national census taken semi-annually and kept up to date might well supplant these useless lists. For many reasons, including nationality, safety, production and trade, America will need such a registration to deal with other countries after the war.

**Amendment to the Immigration Law requiring all aliens over 16 and under 50 years of age, upon being admitted to America, to state their intention concerning remaining in America and their purpose in coming. Every such alien should be required to learn the English language within three years and apply for citizenship papers, if eligible, or state his reason for not so doing, or be subject to deportation.**

DECLARING  
INTENTION  
AND LEARNING  
ENGLISH

**Note:** The foreigners within our boundaries have come of their own initiative—while they are here they must conform to our national life and obey our laws. The failure to understand our language should no longer constitute an excuse for a breach of our hospitality or a violation of our laws. We have seen the danger of permitting large bodies of men and women to come into America and remain isolated in speech and communication, dependent upon the foreign language press and their own padroni and racial leaders. We have seen the pathetic attempts of such states as Massachusetts to compel them to learn English. We are face to face with serious problems in the army with enlisted men who cannot speak English. The man or woman who has been in America long enough to learn our language and without patriotism enough to enlist under our flag or without loyalty enough to go back to his own should give an account of himself at the end of three years in America.



CITIZENSHIP  
STANDARDS

**Amendments to the Naturalization Law which will remove obstacles to citizenship, raise the standards, provide uniformity and lessen the technical difficulties, delays and costs. As the granting of citizenship is a Federal function, all state requirements as to residence and witnesses might well be eliminated at great saving to the aliens and to the country.**

Note: In the effort to safeguard citizenship, the present naturalization law contains many features which no longer accomplish this purpose, are ill adapted to the present situation, and are actually prohibitive in the matter of distances, time and cost to the alien. At the same time they do not provide adequate safeguards. The requirements of state residence for a definite period, when aliens by the nature of their work on railways, public improvements, seasonal labor (farms in summer and lumber camps and mines in winter) shift from place to place, is a retention of a state handicap in the administration of a Federal law. *Exhibit H contains proposed amendments to the naturalization law, their benefit to applicants, employers and to the country, and resulting decrease in cost.*

UNIFORM  
STATE LAWS

**Abolition of all state laws on citizenship and of state and local regulations discriminating against aliens.**

Note: It is difficult to adopt a national policy toward aliens which will stand the test of international agreement after the war, so long as states and municipalities pass laws contravening treaties. It is difficult to put the acquirement of citizenship upon a high plane when seven states in the Union permit an alien to vote at state and municipal elections after a few months' residence if he has his first papers. It is difficult to secure respect for and obedience to our laws when the rights of aliens vary so greatly in different states. The alien is in a peculiar position and should be subject only to Federal jurisdiction, as almost any law passed specifically to regulate his acts will eventually, if enforced, involve his home country.

FEDERAL  
EMPLOYMENT  
BUREAU

**Establishment of a Federal employment bureau as a separate bureau in the Department of Labor, with full authority to distribute labor and to regulate private employment agencies doing an interstate business, should be made a war measure.**

Note: It is hazardous, with the labor situation America has today and the labor adjustments that will accompany demobilization, for a great nation to have its only machinery for distributing labor and especially aliens, based upon (a) a provision in the Immigration Law which creates the Division of Information, and authorizes it to give information to aliens who request it and (b) an appropriation of \$250,000 in the Urgent Deficiency Act "to enable the Secretary of Labor during the present emergency in addition to existing facilities



to furnish such information and render such assistance in the employment of wage-earners throughout the United States as may be deemed necessary in the prosecution of the war." The organization of the labor market is a most important task before America if it is to meet effectively trade conditions after the war. The risk of building on the present foundation is one which no nation should take in war and a separate bureau for this purpose should be created without delay. (*See Page 12 for existing conditions, and Page 19 for proposed legislation.*)

**Federal aid to education and Americanization of the alien is indispensable if America is to become a united nation.**

Note: The alien follows the opportunity for work. The result is that outside of large cities he concentrates in communities and counties unable to meet the sudden demand for educational facilities. He is often engaged in temporary and seasonal work and creates a temporary problem by suddenly adding a number of children to an overcrowded school. The task is too great and it has accumulated too long for the states and local communities to handle it alone. A bill has been introduced providing for state aid which may well form the basis for a practical measure, which should be administered by the United States Bureau of Education. *Exhibit I is Bill H. R. 21103—64th Congress.*

FEDERAL AID  
TO  
AMERICANIZA-  
TION

**REGULATIONS**

**Priority board on labor with power to have the first opportunity with applicants at public and private employment agencies, to supervise the transfer of aliens from industries and to divert labor going to unimportant industries. Wherever the labor turnover exceeds 100 per cent. in any industry where war and navy contracts are held, the cause should be investigated.**

Note: There are in the United States in the neighborhood of 100 state employment agencies, including branches; there are 93 Federal offices and approximately 3000 private agencies. New York alone has about 700 licensed agencies, many of which handle immigrants only. The alien almost invariably gets his job from his countryman employment agent. Investigations made show that these agents greatly demoralize the labor market in order to collect additional fees. For an illustration of interstate fraud on workmen, *See Exhibit J, a newspaper statement on sending 523 men from Newark to Baltimore.* The men go where the agent sends them, and he decides according to the fee. It is possible to divert a large proportion of these applicants with their consent to war industries and keep them there. These agencies supply many unimportant trades and could be induced to favor more vital industries. Instead of dismissing alien workmen from war industries, in many instances exchanges

PRIORITY  
BOARD ON  
LABOR



could be effected thereby saving loss in time and skill and direction. Alien enemy workmen should not be permitted to drift from place to place or remain unemployed. Any industry in these days of labor shortage that has a monthly turnover of over 100 per cent. cannot be relied upon to deliver war materials, and such Priority Board should have power to require reports and to investigate. There is great waste of man-power in seasonal employments, the time lost between jobs ranging as high as a month. This can be obviated by a careful checking of these trades and the provision of facilities for transferring workers immediately.

SOLICITING  
OF  
LABOR

**Employers should be urged to cooperate in the employment of labor and be prohibited from soliciting workmen from war industries.**

**Note:** Employers are co-operating on a basis of patriotism on everything but the labor supply. They still solicit workmen regardless of their present employment and competition is ruthless. Some local newspapers have declined to print advertisements from outside concerns for workmen and in a few instances employers have agreed among themselves not to take each other's workmen. This necessity for co-operation cannot be left solely to voluntary effort. It is important also that one government department does not facilitate its work at the cost of another. Plants having new shipbuilding contracts, for instance, let on a cost and percentage basis, are in a position to pay more for labor than those holding old contracts and yet these old contracts may be vitally necessary and impossible to complete if their men go to the other plants at higher wages. England goes very far in this matter and provides that no factory directly or indirectly by canvassing, advertisement or otherwise may take any steps with a view to inducing any person employed in any other factory engaged on government work to leave his employment or any person living at a distance of more than ten miles from the occupier's factory to accept employment therein otherwise than by notifying vacancies to a labor exchange.

SAFETY

**Some existing government agency should be given authority to make rules regarding the safety and presence and location of persons or premises wherever munitions are manufactured, wherever highly explosive materials are stored or manufactured for war products and in mines and other places where raw materials required by war products are produced.**

**Note:** At present this is left to the National Safety Council, to the National Board of Fire Underwriters, and to other miscellaneous agencies without authority to act. The alien as a fire risk has not yet been dealt with, but his location in the plant is often of the utmost importance. A uniform strengthening of Safety Departments, with



the alien in mind, would contribute greatly to safety. In industries controlled or operated by aliens, which will be registered with the custodian of alien property, the utmost care should be taken to see that all vulnerable points are manned by Americans and that the control of output is in their hands.

**Rules should be formulated regarding the health, protection, welfare, sanitation, and housing of workers in factories and on premises where war contracts are being executed or where raw materials for the same are being produced.**

WELFARE

**Note:** These matters are now left to state labor departments which vary greatly in regard to laws and machinery for enforcement. Many subjects, as welfare and housing, are not covered by any State laws or powers. The conditions change so rapidly, new towns spring so quickly into being and workers shift so rapidly from place to place that only Federal regulations can meet the needs. The co-operation of state labor departments would be very valuable in securing enforcement, but the first need is for standards of regulations. Discriminations now existing against alien workers in such matters as housing, accident prevention and sanitation should be abolished.

**A change should be made in the awarding of war and navy contracts to include a consideration of labor conditions. Every such contract should contain a clause providing automatic methods for the enforcement of pre-contract stipulations.**

AWARDING  
WAR  
CONTRACTS

**Note:** War contracts should be let only after the Government has received assurance by investigation or otherwise that the company, in addition to its financial and management responsibility, will have reasonable access to the labor market and will employ methods calculated to obtain and retain workmen; will provide adequate transportation facilities and housing for additional workmen; and will take reasonable precautions to prevent labor unrest, riots and strikes. It should also give assurance that it will treat alien and American born workmen alike; and that the plant is located or to be located in a community that can provide the necessary school facilities, public utilities, recreation and opportunities for religious worship. It will be impossible to secure efficiency and reduce labor turnover among alien workmen particularly where contracts are let under conditions which at the outset defeat remedial measures. A considerable part of the delays now being experienced is due to neglect to consider the human factors in production. There is no available data showing that these have been considered specifically or that investigations have been made to determine their relative importance to speed in production. The following form is pending



in one of the departments and illustrates the method that may be employed:

"The contractor will promptly submit to the Department lists of all its officers and employees, showing nationality and capacity in which employed, including the names of the officers and employees whose duties affect work under this contract as the Department may from time to time require in the public interest, and the contractor will not employ aliens on such work without the written approval and consent of the Department. The contractor will likewise furnish similar lists of the employees and officers of its sub-contractors for important parts of the work covered by this contract.

"The contractor will promptly submit to the Department full information concerning measures for the protection of plants and the products thereof to be delivered under the contract and its principal sub-contractors, and the contractor hereby covenants and agrees for itself and for and on account of its said principal sub-contractors that measures for such purpose adequate, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Department, will be provided and that the foregoing stipulations relative to changes in personnel of officers and employees and the employment of aliens will be faithfully observed.

"Failure and refusal on the part of a contractor or of a sub-contractor to comply with the requirements of this clause shall be, and is hereby understood and agreed to be, sufficient cause for the cancellation of this contract by the Department, and in case of such cancellation the contractor shall not nor shall any sub-contractor be entitled to damages or reimbursement on account of such cancellation other than a fair and reasonable allowance to be determined by the Secretary of the Department for costs, expenses, and profits on account of work already done and materials furnished."

**The substitution of women workers for men necessitates the appointment of government representatives to safeguard their welfare.**

WOMEN  
WORKERS

**Note:** The country should be deeply concerned about the entrance of immigrant women into highly organized industries. They, even more than alien men, are unable to protect their health and character. They do not speak English. They are unfamiliar with American customs, have been isolated from Americanizing influences, and they have heavy household cares which take their strength. They are willing workers and will attempt any work. This is especially true of Italians and Slavs. A request has already come to the Illinois Council of Defense for women as freight handlers, and it is announced that section gangs have been put to work on the Lehigh Valley railway. Any effort to increase the proportion of women in war industries will be successful only if it is a part of a thoroughly worked out scheme of labor distribution. Housing should receive very careful consideration before women are employed. If women are to become freight handlers and section hands there should be some medical examination to determine their fitness



for this work. Many of the industries now make such examination of men before assigning their work. In every war industry employing alien women in numbers at unusual tasks there should be a government agent to safeguard their welfare. Permits for night work should be conditioned upon the presence of some such representative. Inspectors representing various departments are now stationed at such industries to see that materials meet the specifications and their duties could easily be enlarged to include the human phases of employment. Defective materials can be replaced. Wasted men and women cannot be replaced and are more vitally essential to the winning of this war than are materials. There will doubtless be some industries which women should not enter because they are not necessary to the war or are dangerous. This question has already arisen in Massachusetts in shoe shining parlors and the Mayor of Boston has requested the passage of an ordinance forbidding women under 21 from working in such places. Such important matters should not be left to a local authority, but a definite policy based on conditions should be followed.

**Government appropriations for housing and the regulations of boarding houses and of rents are necessary for the care of workmen and their families.**

#### HOUSING

**Note:** Every community in which munitions are being made faces a housing famine. From the standpoint of the alien, the erection of additional houses will not be sufficient. In the surveys of munitions towns it has been invariably found that aliens were the worst housed and least cared for. Even when American workmen occupied company houses, the alien had the bunk house, the shanty, a tent or was left to a boarding house which might be the floor of a Greek coffee house or a third of a bed or a shift in a bed with some family willing to sacrifice its future health and morality to present need or opportunity. Not only, therefore, should the Federal government insist upon adequate housing, making appropriations therefor if necessary, but there should be regulation of boarding houses as to number and conditions under which workmen live. Precedent exists for this in the New York State law regulating immigrant lodging places and in the regulation of tenements in cities. The Government should also have authority, as in England, to take over unoccupied buildings, to "billet" workmen, to investigate evictions, and to prevent exorbitant rents. The improvement of housing conditions should also extend to railway gangs, as no subject is of greater importance than the loyalty of workers upon whom the safety of the road-beds depends, and the majority of whom are foreign-born. *Exhibit K is a summary description of housing conditions found in an investigation of conditions in munitions towns.*



#### MOBILIZATION

The Chamberlain bill having failed of passage, an agreement should be reached by which non-enemy aliens can be included in the next draft or be conscripted by their own country.

**Note:** The utmost care should be taken to preserve American control of communities and industries. This cannot be done unless some way is found of drafting aliens within the American lines or those of their home countries. This should be done before the next draft is called. At the same time adequate provision should be made in information, interpreters and otherwise for handling aliens who do not speak English. This was done in Cleveland by the War Americanization Committee with marked success. *Exhibit L* is a summary report of its work. The need of such provision is further illustrated by a letter received from the Detroit Board of Commerce. *Exhibit M* is a copy of the letter.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS DEPENDENTS

The Federal employment system should be connected with the draft records to enable the families of enlisted men to find employment.

**Note:** The Active Service Auxiliary of the New York State National Guard, which cared for the families of soldiers on the Mexican border found many members of these guardsmen willing and ready to go to work. It established an employment bureau and out of 545 families aided, 409 persons accepted employment. This reserve can be systematically called out and advantageously placed and will be especially helpful in preventing industrial exploitation of aliens' families.

### AMERICANIZATION

#### CITIZENSHIP

American citizenship which shall be recognized the world over and the assurance of the rights of American naturalized citizens in their home country is one of the questions requiring adjustment when peace negotiations are under consideration. Preliminary to this a thoroughgoing study of the present treaties and naturalization law is required.

**Note:** The status of the naturalized citizen in his home country varies with the country. If he is of military age, he runs great risks in returning. Renationalization will raise some very interesting questions, in such cases as where naturalized citizens claim the headship and estate in their home country, where payments of war insurance are to be made to dependents in home countries and many other cases involving property and relationships. The operation of our naturalization laws has some very serious state and court limitations and obstacles have grown up which require careful thought and analysis before recommendations can be made. *Exhibit N* is a proposed outline of study. See also *Exhibit H*.



**The Americanization program including the America First campaign now being put over the country by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, should have the support of other departments and of the Council of National Defense.**

AMERICA  
FIRST  
CAMPAIGN

**Note:** The main features of the program are: (1) to secure adequate legislation to deal with the education of the immigrants on a national scale; (2) to establish higher standards and methods of organization and instruction; (3) to extend facilities for the education of immigrants, and (4) to mobilize all forces and agencies interested in one national program. Americanization today means not only learning English and becoming a citizen. The loyal resident is one who gives his undivided and unqualified support to the government. He answers promptly the call to military service if it comes. If it does not, he performs his duties of citizenship cheerfully and willingly. He pays his taxes without a murmur. He buys bonds to the extent of his ability. He practices reasonable economy in the interest of conservation of the nation's resources. He cooperates intelligently with the government officials who are endeavoring to ameliorate conditions and prevent suffering. He speaks well of his government and refrains from criticising its acts, and he is ready for the call to service whether it advances him or not.

**Official announcement of a war policy for aliens and invitation to the many thousands of organizations throughout the country doing Americanization work to cooperate with the government in working it out.**

ALIEN WAR  
POLICY  
COOPERATION

**Note:** Groups of organized agencies in the country are struggling with the Americanization problem—churches, fraternal societies, political clubs, immigration associations, chambers of commerce, trade organizations, women's clubs, neighborhood associations, schools, colleges. Many of them have but little understanding of its meaning or of the methods, standards and organization necessary to achieve the best methods. The war offers the greatest opportunity America has had to unite its many peoples and thousands of organizations stand ready to accept an official plan and methods which will make their work effective.

**Teaching English to aliens in cantonments is of vital importance to effectiveness and discipline.**

ALIENS  
OFFICER  
AT  
CANTONMENTS

**Note:** The War Department has announced that it is taking a census of men in the National Army to ascertain the work they can best perform. Provision can be made at once to teach aliens English and the granting of their citizenship papers facilitated. An aliens officer should be appointed as a part of the personnel organization in charge of the work in each cantonment.



## ADMINISTRATION

The Federal government is confronted with a three-cornered problem: the enforcement of the terms of the President's proclamations and laws and regulations incident thereto or resulting therefrom; the protection and utilization of friendly aliens; and the prevention of anti-American activities by alien enemies. It is very difficult for an unofficial organization to make an analysis of governmental agencies under prevailing conditions, as facilities are not readily granted. The following analysis of the facilities in use or specially adaptable by government agencies is therefore not exhaustive nor has it been possible to verify the information, as has been done with other material contained in this Memorandum.

### FEDERAL AGENCIES

#### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The Department of Justice conducts its intelligence work through its Bureau of Investigation, to which are attached a few hundred special agents scattered throughout the country. United States District Attorneys and United States Marshals assigned to Federal judicial districts covering the entire country are its executive representatives, with jurisdiction over local districts. As the prosecuting office of the government it acts usually upon complaint only, which limits its initiative and the scope of its preventive work. The authority given the Attorney-General by the President's proclamations and regulations empowered this Department to issue permits to alien enemies to reside, pass through, or come within forbidden areas.

#### WAR DEPARTMENT

The War Department has a Military Information Section attached to the office of the Chief of Staff. It includes primarily the military phases of intelligence work for the protection of the army in the field and collects and distributes information upon which the War College makes its plans. It has thus far formulated no definite policy regarding aliens, and has taken no action in regard to war contracts or other phases of alien activity, except that of furnishing upon special request, protection for arsenals, munition plants and war industries. Representatives are stationed at various points to pass upon war materials but no instances have been found where precautions were taken regarding workmen, although it is understood that the Department has secured from some of the larger plants a census of employees which contained detailed information regarding alien workmen and their families. Registration under the Conscription Act of men from 21 to 30 years of age, inclusive, has supplied the Provost Marshal's Office with valuable data on more than 1,350,000 aliens.

#### NAVY DEPARTMENT

The Navy Department has a Division of Naval Intelligence which operates for the protection of naval operations. The recent raids in New York City on alien enemies found violating the President's proclamation making the water-front a restricted zone, is illustrative of this work. The Division's investigations have also included some experimental inquiries into



labor conditions of plants having naval contracts to determine causes of delay and to facilitate deliveries.

The Department of State has a Citizenship Bureau which issues passports and thus regulates the departure of all citizens from the United States. The Department also has jurisdiction over all treaty relationships with other governments and through its confidential agents gathers information regarding international conditions. The Department is therefore frequently consulted by subjects or citizens of *friendly* nations whose residence in the United States in war-time subjects them to varying treaty rights and obligations. The Department also issues licenses to transport into or from the United States any citizen of an enemy or ally of enemy country.

DEPARTMENT  
OF  
STATE

The Treasury Department through the United States Secret Service has broad powers of investigation in times of peace as well as of war, into any suspected anti-government activities and may initiate such inquiries without formal complaint. In its campaign to sell Liberty Bonds the department solicited the cooperation of some 21,000 foreign language societies, clubs and newspapers, and local Liberty Loan Committees follow up the replies received. The Public Health Service in this Department conducts the physical and mental examinations of all alien arrivals.

TREASURY  
DEPARTMENT

The Censorship Board, created under the Trading with the Enemy Act, administers regulations for the censorship of communications by mail, cable, radio and telegraph between the United States and foreign countries. The Board is composed of representatives of the Secretaries of War and Navy, the Postmaster General, the War Trade Board and the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information.

CENSORSHIP  
BOARD

The Post Office Department supervises and licenses newspapers printed in foreign languages. All papers not licensed file with local Postmasters, before publication, translations of any matter concerning the war. Post Office Inspectors and local Postmasters cooperate with the Attorney-General in the enforcement of the Espionage Act which prohibits the transmission through the mails of seditious or disloyal printed matter.

POST-OFFICE  
DEPARTMENT

*The Postal Savings Division* now has on deposit over \$140,000,000 credited to 700,000 individual depositors—the majority of whom are foreign-born wage-earners. Increased wages, transference of European accounts to American Post Offices and from immigrant banks to the Post Office, due to the difficulty of transmitting money abroad, have greatly increased such deposits since the commencement of the war. The international money transmission business of the Department as well as of private agencies has also decreased since the war—thus keeping in circulation in the United States the greater part of approximately \$300,000,000 formerly transmitted abroad each year.



COMMITTEE ON  
PUBLIC  
INFORMATION

The Committee on Public Information has a Division of Foreign Language Publications which cooperates with the Post Office Department and the Department of Justice in the censorship of the foreign language press. It has a corps of 19 paid translators some of whom have been detailed by the other departments, and between 200 and 300 volunteer translators. The Committee also has a Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation which prepared and distributed pamphlets in English and in foreign languages on "How the War Came to America" and similar information. It has also organized the "Four Minute Men" throughout the country who address audiences at moving picture theatres on matters connected with the war.

DEPARTMENT  
OF THE  
INTERIOR

The Department of the Interior has three divisions that reach the alien: *The Division of Immigrant Education*, whose activities for the education of the adult immigrant are described in Memorandum I, page 14.

*The Division of Community Organization* is promoting the enactment of state and municipal legislation for the creation of community forums in the public school buildings as an effective agency of Americanization among the adult residents of the community. To secure united support, it is planned to issue a proclamation asking for a representative of the nation to be appointed in every school district in the country to facilitate public discussion on the war and why we are in it.

*The Division of Home Economics* reaches the immigrant mother in the home through lessons and standards.

DEPARTMENT  
OF LABOR

BUREAU OF  
IMMIGRATION

The Department of Labor has seven bureaus which deal with aliens:

*The Bureau of Immigration* administers the immigration and Chinese exclusion laws. The Bureau acts on complaint only in specific cases of exploitation and occasionally investigates conditions on docks or railroad stations to secure more efficient transportation methods. The Bureau also has physical charge of all German civilians interned at immigrant stations or at interior concentration camps.

BUREAU OF  
NATURALIZA-  
TION

*The Bureau of Naturalization* supervises the work of some 2,500 naturalization courts, investigates the qualifications of citizenship candidates and represents the government at hearings on naturalization petitions. It also stimulates educational preparation of declarants and petitioners for naturalization by furnishing their names to local public school officials and by writing each one directly urging attendance at such classes. Letters are also sent to the wives of such applicants. A citizenship text book has been prepared and distributed among school officials. Mass meetings have been arranged for foreigners and addresses have been made by Naturalization Examiners. The Bureau has records of all aliens who have filed their declaration of intention, but who have not completed their citizenship.

DIVISION OF  
INFORMATION

*The Division of Information* in the Office of the Commissioner-General of Immigration has established a number of employment and distribution offices over the country. This employment service is operated as an adjunct of the Immigration Service whose officials have been assigned to this work. Bulletins are published daily as a clearing house to



connect employers and employees unable to reach each other through other and more direct methods. The Division cooperates with state and municipal employment bureaus, by using their offices for clearing house purposes and by assigning government stenographic or clerical help to expedite the work. The service is open to citizens as well as aliens, and workmen are being mobilized for arsenals, munition plants and shipyards. The Division also cooperates with the Department of Agriculture in recruiting farm labor from urban communities and industrial regions.

*The Women's War Bureau of Registration and Information*, organized by the National League for Women's Service to register wage-earning women and girls for the use of the Department's employment service, supplies such workers to the Division of Information to meet requests for labor in factories having war contracts, which women can fill.

WOMEN'S WAR  
BUREAU OF  
REGISTRATION

*The U. S. Public Service Reserve*, organized in August, 1917, was established by the administrative order of the Secretary of Labor as an "organization of adult males who desire to find their place for effective service to the country in the war emergency and to make it easy for the government to locate them when it needs help from men of their capacities." It is supported in the main by voluntary contributions, experts having been appointed as special agents at \$1 a month. A large staff of assistants and clerks are paid from a fund subscribed by private individuals. Enrollment is voluntary and assignment to work carries only a moral obligation on the part of the person enrolled. No compulsory conscription of labor is intended, but an enrolled person is expected to accept employment in a plant to which he may be assigned. Its primary purpose is to register skilled workmen *who are already employed*. Enrollments are made in plants having war contracts to stabilize the labor supply in such plants. A small bronze button and a chevron are given to each person enrolled which must be returned on leaving such employment. Such *insignia* are evidence of the fact that the men are in the active service of the government. Workmen in non-war industries who, through special skill or kind of service, may be needed in plants working on war contracts, are also enrolled. Enrollment in the Reserve of non-war plants protects them from the sudden loss of a large number of men, as in the assignment to war industries the Reserve meets the demand for men by apportioning assignments from among all the adjacent registered plants. Unemployed persons with special training are also enrolled while the unskilled unemployed are referred to the Employment Service.

U. S. PUBLIC  
SERVICE  
RESERVE

*The Bureau of Labor Statistics* reaches the alien only incidentally, as he may be a workman in plants investigated when studies are made of welfare work and labor turnover.

BUREAU OF  
LABOR  
STATISTICS

*The Bureau of Mediation* reaches alien workmen in the adjustment of disputes in such basic industries as mining, steel production and ship-building.

BUREAU OF  
MEDIATION

The Labor Adjustment Commission appointed by the President, with the Secretary of Labor as Chairman, is making a three months' investigation of labor and I. W. W. conditions in the Middle and Far West.

LABOR  
ADJUSTMENT  
COMMISSION



FEDERAL  
SHIPPING  
BOARD

The Federal Shipping Board has an Industrial Service Division which trains men for work on sea-going steamers and assures them employment on the new merchant ships under construction. This service department will also secure and train men for ship-building plants and is making a survey to determine the requirements of every steel shipyard. A Ship-building Wage Adjustment Board is holding conferences with employers and workmen.

COMMITTEE ON  
TRAINING CAMP  
ACTIVITIES

The Committee on Training Camp Activities of the War and Navy Departments is working on a plan, in cooperation with the Division of Immigrant Education, to organize English classes in all National Army cantonments to enable all drafted men to understand orders and read instructions. Under this plan the Bureau of Education is to train the teachers chosen from among the drafted men, who are then to organize and instruct the classes for those of foreign-birth. (*See Memorandum I, Exhibit VI.*)

U. S. FOOD  
ADMINISTRATION

The U. S. Food Administration has a Vernacular Press Division which prepares Bulletins and is organizing a question and answer column for the foreign language press. (*See Memorandum I, page 11.*)

DEPARTMENT  
OF  
AGRICULTURE

The Department of Agriculture through its women agents assists women in production and conservation through home canning and drying in cities as well as rural districts. The Department also determines farm labor needs and assists in organizing available farm labor in rural districts, thus reaching a number of alien farm workers.

FEDERAL  
FARM  
LOAN  
BOARD

The Federal Farm Loan Board in the Treasury Department has established 12 Federal land banks to lend money to farmers or prospective farmers at 5 per cent. interest, for land purchase and farm development, taking as security first mortgages on land for periods of from 5 to 40 years, at the borrower's option, which are retired on the partial payment plan. As alien declarants can make homestead entries, through the General Land Office in the Department of the Interior, the Loan Board reaches non-citizen farmers.

COUNCIL OF  
NATIONAL  
DEFENSE  
WAR  
INDUSTRIES  
BOARD

The Council of National Defense, through its War Industries Board, has left the matter of alien labor in plants having war contracts to the operation of state laws and the watchfulness of the local plant. Posters, printed in English only, are being distributed and posted in plants having war contracts, urging employees to give 100 per cent. service and efficiency to government work.

WOMEN'S  
COMMITTEE

The Women's Committee of the Council has disseminated information on the Americanization activities of the State Women's Committees of Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska and Illinois. A Home Economics Section, cooperating with the Food Administration, is planning to stimulate the teaching of English to immigrant women in the home by the



home educators working through local food committees. The Committee on Foreign-Born Women in Industry of the Women's Committee is also planning to teach them English as a safety-first measure, to inform them of the legal standards of industry, to form public opinion through the press to safeguard industrial and social standards and to prevent employment at night-work of foreign-born women with children under school age.

The Alien Property Custodian appointed by the President under the Trading with the Enemy Act, has the custody and control of "enemy" or "ally of enemy" property within the United States except for such property belonging to persons or corporations licensed to continue doing business in the United States. Names of all enemy or ally of enemy officers, directors and stockholders of concerns, all property held for and all debts due to such enemies must be reported to the Custodian, who may require or may receive the transfer of such property or the payment of such debt.

ALIEN  
PROPERTY  
CUSTODIAN

The present administrative method of handling the alien situation is widely scattered, duplication exists at some points and wide gaps at others. The present method is to pass legislation and add powers according to the department initiating it or to apportion the work somewhat regardless of the organic place to which it belongs. As an illustration of duplication, the Bureau of Naturalization is attempting to establish educational standards, which clearly fall within the functions of the Bureau of Education. As an illustration of gaps, there is no one place where the alien can apply for information.

SUMMARY

The real difficulty, however, is that some of these agencies have not placed their work on a war basis so far as the alien is concerned and have not yet realized their responsibility or opportunity. As an illustration, the Division of Information with its 93 employment offices when combined with the work of the U. S. Public Service Reserve, could easily be made the basis of work for a Priority Board on Labor to remedy the shortage of labor at critical points.

#### ADMINISTRATION RECOMMENDATIONS

With the above situation in mind, the following recommendations are submitted:

The Council of National Defense to appoint a committee on aliens or Americanization.

COMMITTEE  
ON ALIENS

**Note:** There is no central body to coordinate and direct the work for aliens. There should be a Committee on Aliens (or Americanization if the word is preferred), whose duties shall include the assembling and distribution of information, the formulation of standards and methods, the direction of investigations, the coordination of existing work, the direction of state work among aliens through the Council's Section for State Cooperation, and securing the co-operation of existing agencies and individuals.



DEPARTMENTAL  
OFFICERS  
ON ALIENS

**Specialists or aliens officers should be appointed in various Federal departments.**

**Note:** The proposed Committee on Aliens should consider the advisability of requesting each Federal department to appoint a specialist or designate an officer on aliens who shall handle and to whom may be referred all matters affecting aliens within such department, such specialists or officers to constitute a consulting committee which shall meet regularly to coordinate and standardize alien matters, and to advise with the Committee on Aliens of the Council of National Defense.

STATE  
SUB-COMMITTEES  
ON ALIENS

**Sub-committees on aliens of state councils of defense are needed to carry out the work throughout the country.**

**Note:** Each defense council in states where the alien is an important factor or where war industries are numerous or vital should appoint a committee or a division on aliens to cooperate in carrying out the recommendations of the proposed Committee on Aliens of the Council and to secure the cooperation of existing state and municipal agencies, now working with aliens. *Exhibit O is an analysis of conditions by states showing the problems and needs. Exhibit P is a report of citizenship work carried on by the R. I. Committee on Public Safety.*

PLANT AND  
COMMUNITY  
CORRESPONDENTS

**Individual correspondents acting in direct cooperation and under the direction of the proposed committee on aliens will enable the Federal government to reach every point where aliens are located.**

**Note:** In addition to the proposed centralized Federal and state system, there should be a volunteer force working for Americanization and the protection of America. With a territory so great, the distribution of war contracts so varied, and with hundreds of thousands of aliens scattered throughout the country, many of them changing daily from place to place and job to job, there is needed a war service based on a large number of industrial and other units which can communicate essential facts, activities and movements at once to headquarters and distribute information and carry out measures of safety and Americanization. The success of the experiment made by the New York State Division of Aliens with plant correspondents can be repeated nationally. The employers on request of the Division of Aliens appointed such correspondents who volunteered their services upon all matters within industries and county correspondents were selected to supplement their work for the town or village. Such a national staff of volunteers will give prompt information, and can be relied upon to carry out suggestions in communities and industries where committees might be misunderstood or would be ineffective.



**The cooperation of leaders among foreign-born people should be secured by conferences and direction of their work in the interests of America.**

CONFERENCES  
WITH  
FOREIGN-BORN  
LEADERS

**Note:** Conferences held by the proposed Committee on Aliens with the various leaders of the many nationalities in this country will go far to promote better understanding, effective team-work, interest in the Government's work and sympathy with its aims. The Federal government should have some way of keeping in touch with the hundreds of organizations and societies consisting exclusively of foreign-born members which hold regular meetings and conferences. The reason for America's entrance into this war should be presented at such meetings and cooperation secured in the Americanization of their own people. With the regulation of the foreign language press other channels will be more widely used for agitation and propaganda and should be counteracted immediately by the appointment of a Committee on Aliens which will take this matter in hand.

**Aliens should be assisted to make the many adjustments required of them with the least delay and cost.**

WAR  
ADJUSTMENTS

**Note:** The great majority of aliens in America while owing it no allegiance are loyal and willing to serve its interests. America owes it to these aliens to establish accessible information centers which will help them in adjusting themselves to the changing conditions and to understand what America requires of them and how they can best serve her. They have complaints, grievances and difficulties to which it is better that the United States give a hearing than to let them accumulate for some designing I. W. W. or alien enemy. Such centers were established in New York in counties and in industries and were very well received by both Americans and aliens. The foreign language press will willingly establish information columns and facilitate the work of these centers and are in need of some such service themselves. Two hundred and twenty-one of them published or circulated largely in New York State offered space for such a service.

The indications are that at the close of the war one million or more immigrants may return to their home countries permanently, or for temporary periods, to ascertain what has happened to relatives or friends, and to adjust matters resulting from the war. They will take their savings with them. Every effort should be made to interest these aliens in America and to make them feel welcome and to desire to remain here. To this end a foundation should be laid which shall make no distinction between the old and the new citizen and which shall afford to all Americans alike the full meaning of American opportunities and responsibilities.



## RECAPITULATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

### ADMINISTRATION

- The appointment by the Council of National Defense of a committee on aliens or on Americanization.
- The appointment of aliens officers in Federal departments to cooperate with the above committee.
- The creation of sub-committees on aliens in the various state councils of defense.
- The designation of plant and community correspondents.

### LEGISLATION

- Semi-annual registration of inhabitants by real estate owners.
- Amendment to immigration law requiring declaration of intention upon entrance and obligation to learn the English language.
- Amendment to naturalization law which will remove obstacles to citizenship, raise the standards and lessen technical difficulties and delays.
- Establishment of a Federal bureau of employment and with authority to regulate private employment agencies.
- Federal aid to education and Americanization of aliens.

### REGULATIONS

- Creation of a priority board on labor.
- Prohibition of soliciting labor by employers from war industries.
- Rules for standard safety measures and for the presence and location of aliens in industrial plants.
- Uniform rules for health, protection, welfare and housing of workers.
- Inclusion of human elements as a basis for awarding war contracts and provisions for automatic methods for the enforcement of pre-contract agreements.
- Appointment of government representatives to safeguard women workers entering new and unusual employments.
- Government appropriations for housing and regulation of lodging places.
- International agreements by which aliens will be included in the next draft or made subject to conscription by their home governments.
- Connection of Federal employment system with the draft, enabling families of enlisted men to find work.

### AMERICANIZATION

- Study of citizenship laws and their operation as a basis for legislation and Americanization.
- Support of the America First campaign by federal agencies.
- Announcement of war policy for aliens and securing cooperation for it from foreign born leaders and societies.
- Provision for teaching English to aliens in cantonments.



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